Mapping Yesilcam

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Mapping Yeşilçam: A relational approach to the Turkish film industry

Turkey's Yeşilçam film industry produced more than 5500 films during its lifetime of 40 years. The industry had a unique narrative approach shaped around its economic model, Turkey's ambivalent connection with modernization and the country's domestic culture. Yet, particular characteristic qualities of the industry remained rather limited up until the last decade, in which vast databases were built up as a consequence of the digital turn. In this study, we develop a relational approach and conduct network analysis to the Yeşilçam with the aim to better understand the patterns of its constitution. Our findings suggest that Yeşilçam was not a homogenous industry as often considered by the film scholarship, rather divided into two main clusters in which professional, narrative and financial dynamics were significantly different.

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Turkey had an established, productive and standardized film industry known as Yeşilçam, which sustained a long period of time between the 1950s and the 1980s. During its lifetime of ca. 40 years this industry produced a great number of films, making it a centre of attraction for film scholars. There is substantial literature on Yeşilçam's financial structure (Abisel 2005; Erkılıç 2014; Erkılıç and Ünal 2018; Gökmen 1973; Şener 1970), popular genres (Akbulut 2012; Demirhan and Scognamillo 2010; Kaya Mutlu 2010; Kesirli Unlu 2015; Sivas Gülçur 2014; Tunalı 2006), narrative properties (Arslan 2005; Erdoğan 1998a, 1998b, 2003; Gürata 2006), representation regimes (Balcı 2013; Sekmeç 2017; Yaşartürk 2012), and audience experiences (Akbulut 2014; Kaya 2017; Şanlıer Yüksel and Çam 2019). Additionally, there are significant studies on the historiography of Turkish cinema that refer to the Yeşilçam era (Akser 2014; Kaya Mutlu 2007; Okumuş 2010; Özen 2009; Saydam 2020b). As a result, there are various periodization attempts which reflect the industry's historical evolution (Arslan 2011; Saydam 2020a; Yıldırım 2016). In its extensive literature Yeşilçam is often considered a homogeneous film industry. Yet the industry exclusively operated under diverging conditions throughout its history, with dynamic connections revolving around each particular player offering a unique form identified with the character and the spirit of the industry.

In this study, we develop a data-driven relational approach and conduct network analysis to Yeşilçam with the aim to better understand the exclusive dynamics of its constituents.[1] We reveal its predominant players and demonstrate the similar patterns, as well as discrepancies, in their relational composition. Our findings suggest, in its high period, Yeşilçam consisted of two clusters that were built on different foundations. This clustering pretty much defined the mode of production and the narrative structure of films produced between the years 1960 and

1979. As the business structures and economic conditions changed, the weight of these clusters shifted and the connections among the players helped Yeşilçam sustain.

Several approaches to film studies were introduced in recent years, particularly due to the advancements in digital humanities. Some tools of digital humanities were also adopted by film scholars, making a specialized analysis of films possible. Among these geo-spatial mapping (Anon n.d., Anon n.d., Anon n.d.), visualizing film styles (Anon n.d.; Brodbeck n.d.; Manovich 2013; Tsivian 2009), and network analysis are the most common. Particularly network analysis offers a significant addition to the digital humanities approaches in film studies. It has long been employed by several disciplines, among which are anthropology, social psychology, geography, mathematical biology, sociology, political science and experimental psychology. However, its adaptation to film studies is fairly recent, yet rapidly growing. There are several papers conducting network analysis in the film studies literature, each one employing this method for a different cause, such as exploring a film industry (Kim, Cho, and Hong 2014; Lorenzen and Täube 2008; Neuberger 2020), concentrating on individuals' role in a particular setting (Senekal 2014; Senekal and Stemmet 2014), examining gender inequality in film industries (Verhoeven et al. 2020), analyzing consumer choices (Yahav 2016), relating creativity to networks of social relationships (Cattani and Ferriani 2014), and showing funding structures of films (Miller 2011). Still, we have identified only one paper using network analysis in the Turkish film literature, in which Beyhan and Erkılıç (2020) analyzed the spatial clustering of the Turkish film industry through network analysis, relating their findings to the life cycles of the industry. They suggest that the emergent life cycles of the Turkish movie cluster can be traced "in the volume and quality of the social interactions experienced between agents in the network" (Beyhan and Erkılıç 2020:210). Apart from this seminal research, social network analysis and

its methods have not yet been applied to the history of Turkish cinema. We aim to fill this gap in the Yeşilçam literature, hoping our contribution will trigger further research.

In the following part of the paper we reflect on the Yeşilçam industry, tracking down its history to provide background information, then elaborate on our methodology and findings. Later in the conclusion part we contemplate our findings, putting them in the broader field of cinema history.

Tracking down Yeşilçam in history

Named after a street in Beyoğlu district of Istanbul, where the majority of the production companies were located, Yeşilçam had significant international and transnational connections. However, the majority of the films were produced in Turkey, in Turkish, and for the national audience. The word Yeşilçam does not only refer to the name of this domestic film industry, but also identifies the films produced by this industry, the narrative structure of these films, and the related movie-going experiences of the audience (Akbulut 2012; Arslan 2011; Dönmez-Colin 2014; Erdoğan and Göktürk 2001; Kaya Mutlu 2010; Özön 2010; Refiğ 2009; Scognamillo 2003; Yıldırım 2016). There is no consensus among film historians on the time span covering the Yeşilçam period. Erdoğan and Göktürk (2001:535) define Yeşilçam as a period starting from the mid-1960s and lasting until the mid-1970s. In a similar manner, Saydam (2020a:401) contends that the Yeşilçam existed in the 1960s and in the first half of the 1970s, whereas Arslan (2011) and Yıldırım (2016:24–26) define Yeşilçam as a period of ca. 40 years which started in the late 1940s and continued until the end of the 1980s. Yet, they break this period into sub-periods based on the internal dynamics of the industry. For instance, Arslan (2011) points out three sub-periods in the Yeşilçam history, a sequence

which started with the early Yeşilçam period in the late 1940s, continuing with the high Yeşilçam period in the 1960s and 70s, and ending with late Yeşilçam period in the 1980s.

During a period of 40 years, Yeşilçam industry produced more than 5500 films.[2] That being said, Yeşilçam was not a large-scale industry with strong income sources. On the contrary, the industry reached such production capacity thanks to its fast, highly standardized, practical production and finance mechanisms. Popular idioms, such as "garment film" (TR konfeksiyon film) (Erdoğan 1998a:261; Özgüç 2012:20) and "one minibus, one film" (TR bir dolmuş bir film) (Şoray 2017:99) were coined by the Yeşilçam professionals in order to refer to this mode of production and finance mechanisms of the industry.[3]

Yeşilçam's production mode and financial mechanism, which helped sustain the industry's high production capacity (at least in quantity), needs to be elucidated. Firstly, there was a financial connection between the producers and the movie theatre managers (Abisel, 2005; Erkılıç and Ünal, 2018). The whole country was divided into six distribution regions, and the main financial income of the producers was the advance payment from the movie theater managers in those regions. Accordingly, movie theatre managers were meeting the producers every year for the commissioning of the films to be produced in the upcoming season. Due to their advance payment, managers had the authority to be involved in the decision making processes relating to the actors, subject, genre, plot, etc. of any particular film. This system, later named as "manager hegemony" (Abisel 2005:105), constituted the backbone of the industry. Secondly, a better understanding of Yeşilçam's productivity can be provided by an evaluation of the visual style and sound space of the films. Starting from the mid-1960s, Yeşilçam relied on the strategy of "speeding up production instead of increasing capacity" (Erdoğan 1998b:174). As part of this strategy, dubbing (post-synchronization) became the

standard sound process, and filmmakers utilized the least number of camera placements, specifically for the dialogue scenes (Erdoğan 1998b:174–75). Thirdly, originality appears to be a significant issue in making sense of the industry's production capacity. Only a limited portion of the films were based on original screenplays, which is a consequence of the high speed production technique. The majority of the films were remakes and adaptations, or they were based on plagiarized plot lines. All agents involved in the making of the films, including producers, directors, screenwriters, and theatre managers, were favoring pre-tested and successful formulas (Erdoğan 2003; Gürata 2006). In addition to the above mentioned facts regarding Yeşilçam's production mode, one should also note that the industry was working under highly institutionalized and strict censorship mechanisms (Kaya Mutlu 2013; Öztürk and Karadoğan 2020). Going through multiple stages of censorship approval while trying to meet increasing demand from the audience and movie theatre managers had been another driving force for being fast and practical.

Yeşilçam's mode of production was prosperous and sustainable, yet it was also vulnerable given the fact that the industry went through multiple crises during its entire lifetime. One of these crises took place in the second half of the 1970s as a consequence of the contraction of public life hinged on political unrest in the country and the increasing popularity of television broadcasts. Yeşilçam turned to making erotic films by targeting male adolescent audience as a strategy to prevent the downsizing of the film market. This strategy resulted in the making of dozens of films, which marked the "sex influx" (TR seks furyası), a period starting in the mid-1970s and continued until the 12 September 1980 coup d'état.[4] It is worth mentioning though, while some players of the industry took part in the making of erotics, others preferred to stay out of the trend, becoming less active in their professional careers.

Another crisis occurred by the end of the 1980s. After the short term impact of the 1980 coup d'état, Yeşilçam revived to a certain extent around the mid-1980s, and maintained its business model until the end of the decade. Still, in line with the impact of the 1980 coup d'état on the industry's political economy, ownership of the distribution network and movie theatres shifted dramatically by the end of 1980s. In 1987, a new legislation enabled foreign companies, such as the Warner Bros and United International Pictures, to establish their own distribution companies in Turkey (Çetin Erus 2007:9–10), a radical shift marking the end of Yeşilçam, a point of no return. The domestic cinema in Turkey could barely revive again in the mid-1990s, this time considered as "new cinema," not a continuation of Yeşilçam.

Reflections of the digital turn on the Yeşilçam era

Yeşilçam had a profound role in Turkey's popular culture, arts, and daily life practices. Despite its impact, many details about the industry remained under obscurity to a certain degree. Neither the films nor their accurate credits information were fully accessible up until the last decade. This ironic condition has been changing thanks to two relatively recent developments. The first one of these is the emergence of huge databases with extensive credits information focusing solely on the Turkish films, such as the Center for Turkish Cinema Studies (TSA) and Sinematürk. Additionally, the Internet Movie Database (IMDB) and Wikipedia started to cover the information on films from Turkey. The second development relates to open access to the films. Even though most of the Yeşilçam films are present and hopefully preserved in different archives and collections, the largest one in Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University Film Archive, they have not been accessible. The films, which have been broadcasted on mainstream television channels or distributed in commercial formats, such as VCD and DVD, constitute only a small portion of the Yeşilçam collection. This issue has started to resolve itself since the last five years when production and

distribution companies began sharing their Yeşilçam holdings on YouTube. As a result, more than 1000 films of the industry are now available online, and the number is yet to increase. In this study, we heavily benefit from the first one of these recent developments, the emergence of open and digital databases specialized in Turkish cinema.

Whenever a new digital database is introduced, its users usually admire it, thinking that creation of an extensive database from scratch would require an endless effort. This admiration yields to routine appreciation as the users discover the textual resources lying behind that database. In most cases these textual sources are created by some dedicated researchers or collectors, who have devoted their lives to the subject. The same story stands for the digital databases on Turkish cinema, since they rely to a great extent on two fundamental published resources: Agâh Özgüç's (2012) encyclopedic dictionary and İnanoğlu's (2004) collection of Turkish film posters. Agâh Özgüç's encyclopedic dictionary, first published in 1978 and later revised multiple times in 2009, 2012 and 2014, is more like a catalogue featuring the credits information of hundreds of Turkish films with a brief description of their subject and some random notes, while İnanoğlu's collection of Turkish film posters presents an archival work of the visual history of the Turkish film industry. Considering the absence of proper documentation, this collection, in which the posters communicate all the basic credits information of a film, is of vital importance.

If the digital databases on Turkish cinema are created out of previously published materials, then shall we consider these online databases simply digital versions of these publications? As pointed out above, Yeşilçam films were produced in a rush in the heydays of the industry to meet the increasing demand from the audience. Given the context, producers were sometimes releasing two versions of a film with different titles, re-releasing a previously

made film with a new title that resembles a trending film, or without a plan in advance, they were making an extra film out of unused footage from another work. Moreover, inconsistencies between the available credits information obtained from different sources are prevalent.[5] In most cases, it is very difficult to identify whether a film is new and original or the available credits information is accurate under these circumstances. The digital databases developed various verification methods with the aim to distinguish between different resources. For instance, both professional and non-professional users may provide data input to the IMDB, but the new contribution becomes available only after being "reviewed by a member of the data editing team"(Anon n.d.).

At this moment, there are four major databases providing credits information of the films in Turkish cinema. These databases, along with the number of the films they cover between 1950-1989, are listed below.

- IMDb, 5683 films [Advanced title search, Country: "Turkey", Language: "Turkish", "all titles included", "adult titles included"] (Anon n.d.)
- Wikipedia, 2184 films (Anon 2021)
- Sinematurk.com, 5693 films [Origin: "domestic", Type: "movies"] (Anon n.d.)
- Center for Turkish Cinema Studies (TSA), 5595 films (Anon n.d.)

Each one of these databases has several advantages and shortcomings based on their data input and verification methods. For instance, one can observe faulty categorization of entries on Wikipedia, because categorization fully depends on the user providing the input, such as in the case of the film *L'immortelle* (Robbe-Grillet 1963). This mystery film, shot in Istanbul with a significant orientalist gaze, is listed in the "List of Turkish films of the 1960s".[6] Even

though the film is set in Istanbul, featuring Turkish actors for the supporting roles, it is highly controversial to define *L'immortelle* as a Turkish film, since there is no individual or institutional involvement from Turkey in the creative processes and the financial bearing of the film. Similar faulty data are likely to be found more on Sinematurk.com, where many foreign films are marked as "domestic".[7]

Among these databases, we find the TSA as the most reliable source regarding the accuracy of data covering the Yeşilçam period. The database project of the TSA started to be developed in 2013 and its outcomes were released online in 2014. Data on this database were generated solely by researchers, and not backed with user generated content or crowdsourcing. Their methods utilize higher levels of verification, providing a systematic data creation protocol and cross-checking mechanisms among different sources. This does not only eliminate faulty data, which we frequently come across in other databases, but also minimizes the number of misleading inputs, as in such cases where there are two different releases of a single film.

Methodology

In this exploratory study, we present an unconventional methodological approach to the broader area of film studies, while contributing particularly to the Yeşilçam literature with our findings from macro-level relational analysis. Here, we applied network analysis in order to examine the interconnections of various players in the Yeşilçam film industry and to reveal the patterns of their relations. We aimed to find out how the whole film industry presented itself on a network map. Thus, we have employed the data from the Center for Turkish Cinema Studies (TSA) database, which we gained access through a bilateral agreement.

We began with scraping the film credits information from the TSA servers, which came in JSON format, and then we converted these data to CSV format and merged them into a spreadsheet. The data covered extensive information on the films, including their metadata, along with additional elements, such as directors, screenwriters, producers, actors, production companies, and advertising agencies. For this research, we have limited our scope to cover the relations between the directors, screenwriters and producers. We ran a pilot study to test the outcome from a variety of maps covering four different sections in the Yeşilçam history. After having sorted the data and achieved standardization, we decided to filter the data, focusing on the entire period between 1960 and 1979, considered as the heydays of the Yeşilçam industry and defined as the High Yeşilçam Period (Arslan 2011).

We employed Gephi for the visualization of the networks. Using the Force Atlas 2 layout algorithm, we generated two undirected bipartite maps, which demonstrate films and players as separate groups of nodes. In the first map, based on modularity, we mainly focused on the relations between the players, and considered films as intermediary entities around which these players revolve. Here, we wanted to illustrate the key players, their positioning, and clusters in the network representing the whole Yeşilçam industry. The second map, which focuses on the professions, shows each one of the professional roles as a separate node. In this one, we have color coded each profession to reveal how they are scattered around the map. In the cases where a single player owned more than one profession, we disjoined them into two or three separate nodes in order to highlight the different professions of the same player independently. For example, if a player both directed and produced either the same or different films between 1960 and 1979, that particular player acquired two separate nodes on the map. For this reason, we did not include name tags on this map, rather entirely concentrated on the distribution of professions.

Moreover, we created stacked area and radar charts, which derived from the statistical data behind the maps, in order to better interpret the networks. We listed the most prominent players and their professions based on weighted degree, and examined these roles with regards to the industry's dynamics, showing the apportionment of players' roles in directing, producing, and screenwriting.

A bifold industry

The network maps generated using the abovementioned methodology and the distribution of roles in these networks reveal two main findings. Our first finding derives from the positioning of players in the network. As clearly seen in Figure 1, based on the modularity of players, the industry consists of two distinct subnetworks: A type and B type. Here, all the players of the Yeşilçam industry, who undertook at least one of the directing, producing and screenwriting roles in the making of 3834 films between 1960 and 1979, are exposed regardless of their profession. Thus, the map shows the whole scheme of the industry's relations with a particular focus on the clustering of players. 4361 nodes were identified in this network, including the films, and there are 8546 edges connecting these nodes. The graph density is low as expected, indicating a rather loose-knit network; however, the average path length is 5.144, which makes short distance connections possible.
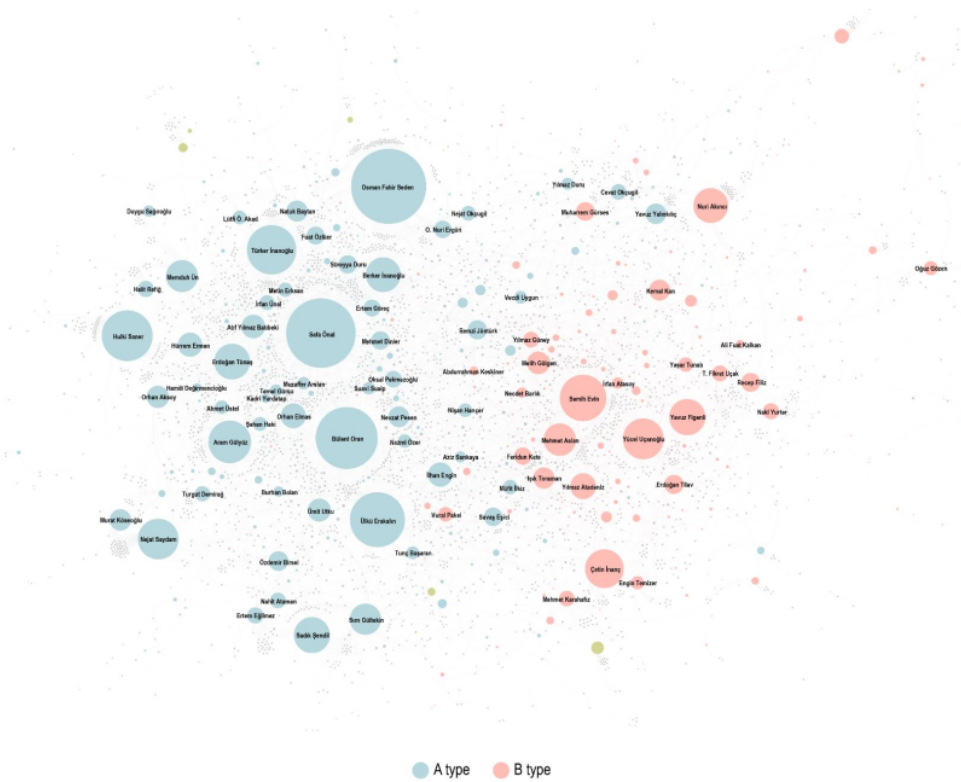
Figure 1. Players of the Yeşilçam film industry and their subnetworks (1960-1979). Colored nodes represent the players, while grays are the films, and edges indicate relations between players and films. Node size is proportional to weighted degree. Modularity with resolution: 3.086.

Several differences are evident between these two subnetworks. Firstly, A type players constitute a larger portion on the map in terms of both the weight of the nodes and the number of edges between these nodes. The number of films, represented as the nodes in gray color, are also significantly higher in this subnetwork. In terms of their weighted degrees, four names, Osman Fahir Seden (306), Safa Önal (283), Bülent Oran (252), and Ülkü Erakalın (223), are the most prominent in the A type subnetwork. In the B type subnetwork, however, the intensity of relationships is much lower, and we do not see any players, who play a central role similar to those four names in the A type subnetwork. Thus, this subnetwork occupies a more limited and non-dominant area in the overall map.

To better interpret this distinction, we need to examine the prominent players in detail. In the A type the players, who took part in the production of the popular mainstream films, immediately attract attention. The common point of the players here is that they made relatively more popular films with higher budgets and star actors that resulted with commercial success at the box office. So much so that these movies are still frequently broadcasted on mainstream television channels, as well as on on-demand platforms. However, we should also point out that this cluster has a great diversity in itself and must not be taken as a homogeneous set.

In the type A subnetwork, players such as Türker İnanoğlu, Berker İnanoğlu, Hürrem Erman, and Hulki Saner are the producers of the most popular and the most watched films in the Yeşilçam period. Bülent Oran, Safa Önal, Erdoğan Tünaş, and Sadık Şendil are Yeşilçam's top screenwriters, and the total number of screenplays they have written between 1950-1989 reaches a number of 863. Osman Fahir Seden made dozens of films both as a screenwriter, producer and director. Lütfi Akad and Metin Erksan are the names, who made relatively fewer films but attracted great attention with their personal styles in Turkish cinema history (Abisel et al. 2005; Kanbur 2005; Kayalı 2004; Masdar Kara 2017). Halit Refiğ, who has a similar importance, is the founder of the national cinema movement (Refiğ 2009). Having a similar position, Duygu Sağıroğlu is one of the most critical names of the social realist movement. Atıf Yılmaz is an iconic name, who has directed both popular and commercially successful dramas, melodramas and comedies, as well as critical and political films associated with arthouse cinema (Arslan 2007; Özyazıcı 2006). Orhan Aksoy, Orhan Elmas, and Nejat Saydam are the directors identified with the melodrama genre, whereas Natuk Baytan focused more on directing historical adventures.[8]

The common point of the names in the B type subnetwork is that they created films with relatively lower budgets compared to the A type, and hired fewer star players. As a result, their box office income was limited. The films produced by these players fit into the continual, rapid, and practical line of production identified with the Yeşilçam. Remakes, remixes, and exploitations were common in this set of films (Erdoğan 2003; Gürata 2006). As a matter of fact, these films mainly targeted a comparatively smaller and a peripheral audience. In this regard, the profile of this subnetwork can be defined with the broader B movie notion in the cinema literature (Saydam 2019). The names, such as Yılmaz Atadeniz, Çetin İnanç, Semih Evin, and Nuri Akıncı, are typical examples representing the dominant tendencies in the B type subnetwork. For most of their careers, these filmmakers produced films that fit into the B movie concept, among which are fantastic movies, superhero stories, comic book adaptations, adventure and action films with plenty of fight scenes, and singer films. All popular tendencies were adapted rather quickly in this cluster. For instance, Işıl Toraman and Erdoğan Tilav have undertaken the production of such films, adventures and actions in particular. Although it is not easy to make a genre oriented distinction between the two, one can easily realize that science fiction, fantasy, western and gangster movies are far more dominant in the type B subnetwork.

Speaking of genre, we should also reflect on the erotic films. As we mentioned above, Yeşilçam turned to making erotic films [7] in the second half of the 1970s as a response to the downsizing of the market, a trend referred to as the sex influx. During the sex influx, some players preferred to be less active in their professional careers, while others were actively engaged with the trend. For instance, directors, such as Ülkü Erakalın, Aram Gülyüz, Yücel Uçanoğlu, Naki Yurter, Yavuz Figenli, and Oksal Pekmezoğlu, were devoted to making of

those films, thus having the largest portion. B type players were adapted to the sex influx more quickly than the A type players, so that their overall weight in the industry increased during this period. However, a closer look at Figure 1 reveals that erotic films do not correspond to an absolute distinction between A and B types. Among the leading players of the sex influx names, such as Yücel Uçanoğlu, Yavuz Figenli, Çetin İnanç, and Erdoğan Tilav, appear in the B type, while others, such as Aram Gülyüz and Ülkü Erakalın show up in the A type. Yet, there are players in the B type, such as Semih Evin, who did not take part in the sex influx, quitting his career at the second half of the 1970s. That is to say, the sex influx appears to overlap at the intersection of the A and B types only because its repercussion was limited to the second half of the 1970s.

Our second finding relates to the distribution of professions. As clearly seen in Figure 2, three major professions, namely directing, producing, and screenwriting, have a certain prevalence in the network. However, a clustering similar to that in Figure 1 is also present, yet again A type and B type films positioned around the same sections in both maps. The nodes representing screenwriters are predominant, mainly on the left section of the map, where the A type films reside. Two of them in particular, with the highest degree centrality in the entire map, form the center of the A type subnetwork. These two nodes, Safa Önal and Bülent Oran, are also evident in Figure 1, however this time we can notice the line of work in their contribution to the Yeşilçam industry. Again in the same subnetwork, the total weight of producers is noticeable. Most of these producers are also the directors of films, as mentioned in the case in which a single player has more than one role. Overall, these two professions are collocated, which means they go side-by-side when it comes to the realization of filmmaking. In the B type subnetwork, there are no such central or large nodes as seen in the A type.

Moreover, screenwriting or producing are not the dominant roles here; on the contrary,

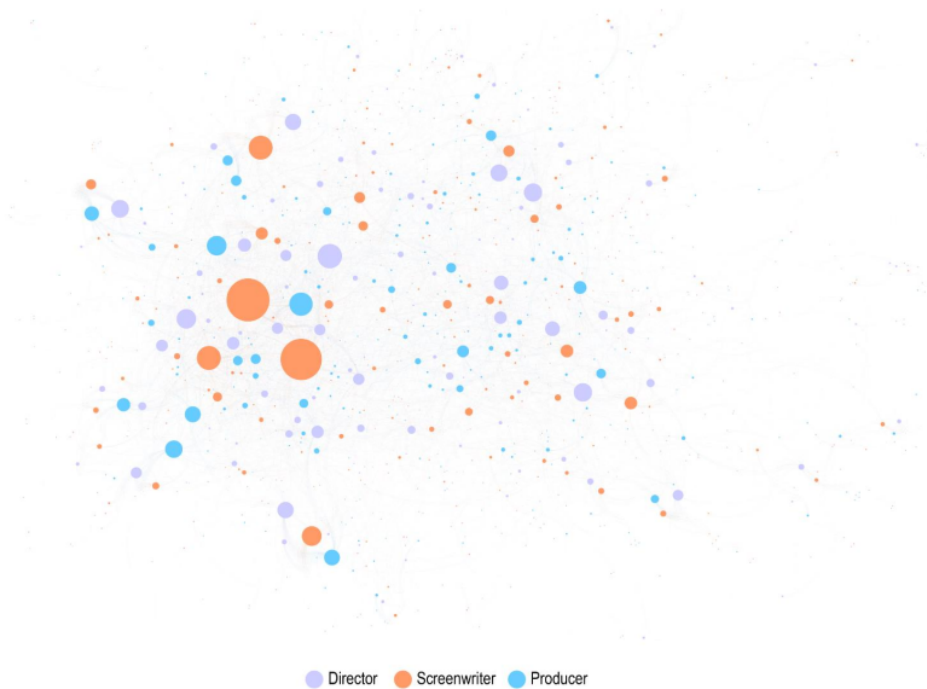directing appears more likely to be the leading role in this subnetwork.

Director   Screenwriter   Producer

Figure 2. Professions in the Yeşilçam film industry (1960-1979). Colored nodes represent the professions, while grays are the films, and edges indicate relations between professions and films. Node size is proportional to weighted degree.

The most prominent players and their professions are listed comparatively in Figure 3 and

Figure 4 to get a better grasp of our second finding. As seen clearly, there is a sharp contrast

between the professions of the most prominent players in the two subnetworks.
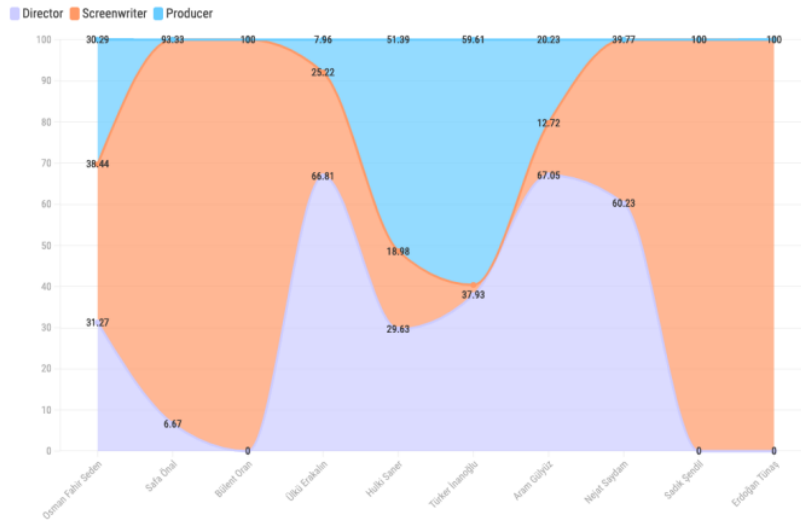
Figure 3. Percent stacked area charts showing the most prominent players and their professions based on weighted degree (1960-1979). A type.
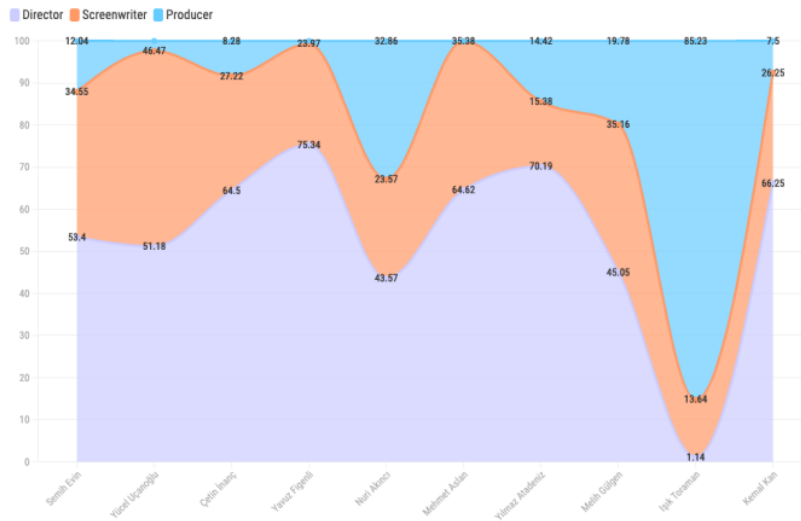

Figure 4. Percent stacked area charts showing the most prominent players and their professions based on weighted degree (1960-1979). B type.

In the A type, four players are solely involved in screenwriting, with the exception of Safa Önal, who has also directed 19 films. Out of five actors with multiple roles in the A type still have a primary profession, three of them directing and two producing. Among the players with multiple roles, the distribution of work is distinct, except for Osman Fahir Seden, who evenly contributed to the three professions. Almost all B type players, however, have multiple professions and mainly are directors. Nine out of ten are directors and there is one producer, namely Işık Toraman. Another contrast between the two types is observed in the distribution of secondary roles. Out of the six players with multiple roles in the A type, three are directors, two are screenwriters, and one is involved in production as the second role. In the B type, the secondary role of nine players is screenwriting, while one alone is producing.

An overall view of professions in the Yeşilçam industry also supports our second finding (Figure 5). The quantitatively larger and more productive impression of the A type, which manifests itself in Figure 1 and Figure 2, reflects as well on the distribution of roles in both subnetworks.
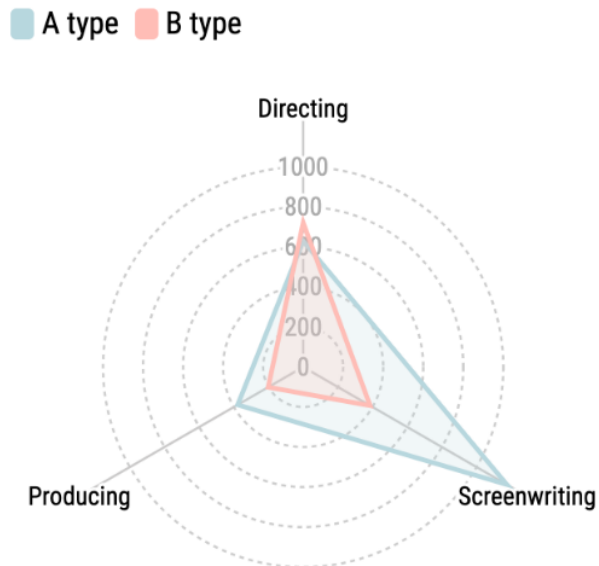
Figure 5. Overall view of professions by type in the Yeşilçam industry (1960-1979).

A total number of 2182 professional activities were undertaken in the A type compared to 1309 in the B type. Yet, there is a remarkable difference between the two. Among all professions performed in the A type, screenwriting has the largest share with 54%, while directing comes second with a 29% share. In the B type, the shares of these two professions shift: 55% directing and 29% screenwriting. The overall distribution of professions very much coincides with the notion of high speed production, as directing and screenwriting roles take up far more share than producing.

Conclusion

The tendency to degrade the history of cinema to the history of films and major players (particularly directors and stars) has long been abandoned. Many studies focusing on the cultural and social dimensions of cinema have been published in the last two decades, thanks to the new cinema histories approach. It has become critical to analyze the dynamics of the film industries in relation to narration, audience, and viewing experiences. In this paper, we are revisiting an old habit of film historiography with a novel approach, which considers the key players not as decision makers and great creators who determine the fate of cinema, but as subjects enabling us to understand the internal dynamics of the industry through the linkages they have erected. Mapping these linkages among the cinema professionals contributes to our understanding of how Yeşilçam has survived for 40 years despite inefficiencies and crises.

It is a fact that Yeşilçam produced B type films, as well as mainstream films, and the audiences of those films were different. However, as our findings suggest, there is a clear

distinction between the players involved in the mainstream and B type films. This distinction, as clearly manifested in our study, reveals the differences between their modes of production, financial conditions and narrative characteristics. An unexpected outcome from these two clusters, in terms of the distribution and undertaking of professional roles, is also evident in our findings. In the A type, screenwriters are more central, and a professional career is identified with a particular role, while in the B type, directing is the priority. Yet, having multiple roles among the players was common and decisive in the B type. This scene suggests that filmmakers in the B type had higher levels of adaptability in terms of finance, narration and professional competencies. Interestingly these filmmakers are the names, who are excluded from the historiography with the conception that their films were immature and low quality. But it seems that the professional flexibility of the B type filmmakers was quite critical for the survival of Yeşilçam. Moreover, it is not surprising to see many players in the Yeşilçam industry carrying out multiple roles, considering similar engagements also exist in other film industries, including Hollywood. The fact that players had multiple roles in Yeşilçam, proves that the industry's professional and business structures resemble the prevailing film industries.

From a methodological perspective, this research was designed to apply network analysis to a major film industry with the aim to reveal the connections among players and understand how these connections reflected on the dynamics of the industry. Employing network analysis is not very common in the area of film studies, particularly at an industry scale. Yet, it can be useful in drawing the boundaries of an industry, defining its players and their roles, showing its evolution, finding out anomalies etc, which overall lead to a further assessment of industry's internal dynamics. Given the limitations of this paper, we have narrowed down our scope to cover a certain period, the most productive years of Yeşilçam, since including the

pre- and post- periods would be binding in terms of overgeneralization of our findings. Still, we believe this study will set the grounds for further research, not only in the Turkish cinema industry, but in other cinema industries as well. Future studies in this line may adopt a longitudinal approach to explore the evolution of an industry and evaluate its disposition in a sociopolitical setting, focus on a certain player or a particular cluster for an analysis of micro structural factors, include the actors and actresses to reveal their long term commitment to the industry, or perhaps extend the research to include production infrastructures, with a focus on the capacity of the sector and the role of production companies. In point of fact, applying network analysis to multiple film industries would facilitate comparative approaches and help reveal the common dynamics behind the emergence of similar patterns among different industries, while providing a better understanding of the historical connections between them.

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Endnotes

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[2] Unless otherwise stated in this paper, the Center for Turkish Cinema Studies database is used as the source for figures (Anon n.d.).

[3] "One minibus, one film" implies that all the cast and crew of a film would fit into a minibus departing from Yeşilçam street, attesting to the making of a new film.

[4] For a critical assessment of the Turkish sex influx see (Demirhan and Scognamillo 2002; Yaren 2017, 2018).

[5] The film *Kemal the Sailor* (TR Bahriyeli Kemal, İnanç 1974) is a typical case, as the producer and production company details differ in the film's opening credits, its poster and Özgüç's encyclopedic entry (Anon n.d.).

[6] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Turkish_films_of_the_1960s, accessed: March 26, 2021.

[7] SinemaTürk advanced search (SineBul): Type: Cinema film, Origin: Domestic, http://eski.sinematurk.com/arama/, accessed: March 26, 2921.

[8] Natuk Baytan's filmography evolved in two main directions: historical adventures and comedies. He mainly focused on the making of historical adventures during the high Yeşilçam period. However, starting from the late 1970s, he shifted to comedies and directed blockbuster movies in the 1980s, most of which feature Kemal Sunal in the lead role. Since this paper focuses on the high Yeşilçam period, his work appears in the A type. For the details of Baytan's filmography see ("Natuk Baytan" n.d.).

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